

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-13 EUR-12 ACDA-07 DHA-05 AID-05 IGA-02

/101 W

-----116407 302005Z /64

P R 301230Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0564

INFO AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GABORONE 2060

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PINS, RH

SUBJECT: COVERSTATION WITH ZANU (SITHOLE) REP IN BOTSWANA

REF: (A) GABORONE 1797, (B) PRETORIA 4368

1. SUMMARY: ZANU (SITHOLE) REP IN BOTSWANA, OLIVER SAUNYAMA, RECENTLY DISCUSSED SITUATION IN RHODESIA AND PROBLEMS OF ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEES IN BOTSWANA WITH EMBOFF. HE WAS PREDICTABLY VERY CRITICAL OF NKOMO AND MUGABE BUT STATED THAT SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA HELD SIMILAR VIEWS AND COULD WORK TOGETHER. HE CLAIMED THAT MANY "FREEDOM FIGHTERS" INSIDE ZIMBABWE ARE SITHOLE SUPPORTERS. SAUNYAMA SAID SITHOLE WOULD CONSIDER "INTERNAL SOLUTION" WITH SMITH, PARTICULARLY IF US/UK ENDORSES (OR APPEARS TO ENDORSE) POPULAR FRONT AS SOLE OR PREDOMINANT ZIMBABWEAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT. ZANU (SITHOLE) IS TRYING TO FIND AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH WOULD BE WILLING TO ACCEPT STRANDED SITHOLE SUPPORTERS AMONG ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEES IN BOTSWANA. END SUMMARY.

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2. IMPRESSIONS OF NATIONALIST LEADERS: SAUNYAMA BEGAN COVERSTATION BY SHOWING EMBOFF LETTER TO BOTSWANA MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FROM REV NDABANINGI SITHOLE APPOINTING SAUNYAMA ZANU REP FOR BOTSWANA. WHEN ASKED FOR HIS IMPRESSIONS OF VARIOUS NATIONALIST LEADERS, SAUNYAMA SHARPLY CRITICIZED ROBERT MUGABE AS OPPORTUNIST WHO SPLIT ZANU INTO RIVAL FACTIONS BUT WHO LACKS REAL POLICY

FOR SETTLEMENT OF RHODESIAN CRISIS. HE DESCRIBED ZAPU LEADER NKOMO AS "DESPARATE MAN" WHO IS WILLING TO TURN TO SOVIETS AND CUBANS RATHER THAN RISK LOSING STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL POWER IN ZIMBABWE. WHILE ZANU (SITHOLE) HAS ITS DIFFERENCES WITH MUZOREWA, SAUNYAMA MAINTAINED THAT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE HOLD SIMILAR VIEW ON OUTLINES OF RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT AND COULD WORK TOGETHER IN BLACK MAJORITY GOVERNMENT.

3. WHO CONTROLS THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS?: SAUNYAMA REFUTED PATRIOTIC FRONT CLAIM THAT IT CONTROLS ALL ZIMBABWEAN "FREEDOM FIGHTERS". HE CLAIMED THAT MANY RECRUITS WITH ZANU (SITHOLE) SYMPATHIES TRAIN IN POPULAR FRONT CAMPS, BUT, ON RETURN TO ZIMBABWE, TAKE THEIR ORDERS FROM ZANLA (MILITARY WING OF ZAPU - SITHOLE). WE NOTE THAT BROTHERS OF BISHOP MUZOREWA MADE SIMILAR CLAIM ON BEHALF OF UANC DURING RECENT CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF (REF A). ACCORDING TO SAUNYAMA, MEMBERS OF SITHOLE'S ENTOURAGE MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH ZANLA UNITS AND PROVIDE THEM WITH POLITICAL AND STRATEGIC DIRECTION.

4. KEYS TO RHODESIAN SOLUTION: ACCORDING TO SAUNYAMA, POLITICAL KEY TO RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT IS ELECTION ON BASIS OF ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE. HE DID NOT RULE OUT AN "ARRANGEMENT" BETWEEN SMITH AND NON-PF NATIONALIST LEADERS IF SETTLEMENT COULD BE QUICKLY LEGITIMIZED BY

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ELECTION WHICH AT LEAST APPROXIMATED ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE. IN THIS REGARD, SAUNYAMA DID NOT RULE OUT USE OF SOME FORM OF QUALIFIED FRANCHISE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT PF WILL NOT BE SATISFIED WITH CHANCE TO TAKE PART IN ELECTION. IN ORDER TO SATISFY MUGABE AND NKOMO, SAUNYAMA FELT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO INTEGRATE PF GUERRILLAS INTO NEW ZIMBABWEAN ARMY WHICH MIGHT ALSO CONTAIN ELEMENTS OF EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMY. IN SAUNYAMA'S CONCEPTION, THIS "ARMY" WOULD BE COMMANDED BY

COUNCIL MADE UP OF REPRESENTATIVES FROM EACH NATIONALIST GROUP WHICH HAD CONTRIBUTED "FREEDOM FIGHTERS". ANY GROUP WHICH REFUSED TO INTEGRATE ITS "FREEDOM FIGHTERS" INTO NEW ZIMBABWEAN ARMY WOULD "HAVE TO BE CRUSHED".

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ACTION AF-10

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SS-15 USIA-06 EUR-12 ACDA-07 DHA-05 AID-05 IGA-02  
/101 W

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P R 301230Z AUG 77  
FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0565  
INFO AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GABORONE 2060

5. ANGLO-AMERICAN INITIATIVE: SAUNYAMA TOLD US HITOWARD  
EXPLICIT RECOGNITION OF PF AS SOLE OR PREDOMINANT ZIM-  
BABWEAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT. HE SAID US/UK RECOGNITION  
OF PF ALONG LINES OF EARLIER DECLARATIONS BY FRONTLINE  
STATES AND OAU WOULD BE "THEIR GREATEST MISTAKE". IF  
PF SHOULD EMERGE VICTORIOUS FROM SUCH A US/UK "SELLOUT",  
-7,6-.- 043\$8:-53\$ 5#-5 8 (PF) WOULD IMPOSE ITSELF BY  
FORCE ON UNWILLING ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE ONLY AFTER CIVIL  
WAR. HE TOLD US HE FEARS US/UK ARE PREPARING TO RECOG-  
NIZE PF AS SOLE LIBERATION GROUP AT URGING OF TANZANIAN  
PRESIDENT NYERERE, POSSIBLY DURING CURRENT OWEN-YOUNG  
VISIT TO SOUTHERN AFRICA.

6. SITHOLE REFUGEES IN BOTSWANA: SAUNYAMA NOTED THAT  
SITHOLE SUPPORTERS (AS WELL AS THOSE OF MUZOREWA) AMONG  
ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEES IN BOTSWANA HAVE MOVED TO SELEBI-  
PIKWE CAMP FROM FRANCISTOWN. ALTHOUGH CONDITIONS ARE  
BETTER AT SELEBI-PIKWE, SITHOLE SUPPORTERS REMAIN STRANDED  
IN BOTSWANA WHILE PF SUPPORTERS MOVE ON TO ZAMBIAN CAMPS  
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FOR TRAINING. SAUNYAMA TOLD US HE HAS JUST RETURNED  
FROM THREE-MONTH VISIT TO SEVERAL AFRICAN COUNTRIES  
WHERE HE TRIED TO ARRANGE FOR RESETTLEMENT OF SITHOLE  
SUPPORTERS NOW IN BOTSWANA'S REFUGEE CAMPS. HE DECLINED  
TO NAME COUNTRIES WHICH MIGHT ACCEPT SITHOLE SUPPORTERS  
BECAUSE NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN "DELICATE STAGE". ACCORDING  
TO SAUNYAMA, ZANU (SITHOLE) WILL SOON PRESENT EMBASSY  
WITH WRITTEN APPEAL FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO PURCHASE

CLOTHING AND FOOD FOR REFUGEES. WE INFORMED HIM THAT DIRECT US ASSISTANCE WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE FORTHCOMING BUT THAT REFUGEE ASSESSMENT TEAM AND SENATE STAFFDEL HAD RECENTLY COMPLETED VISIT TO BOTSWANA AND WOULD BE MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS IN WASHINGTON.

7. COMMENT: SAUNYAMA'S STATEMENTS COINCIDE WITH INCREASING REFERENCES IN RHODESIAN AND SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS TO POSSIBILITY OF "INTERNAL SOLUTION" BETWEEN SMITH AND SITHOLE AFTER AUGUST 31 ELECTION (REF B). HE REFLECTS ZANU (SITHOLE) AND UANC CONCERN THAT, WHEN DETAILS OF CURRENT US/UK INITIATIVE BECOME PUBLIC, BRITISH AND AMERICANS WILL APPEAR TO HAVE JOINED PATRIOTIC FRONT AND FRONTLINE STATES IN CUTTING THEM OUT OF RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT. SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA MAY THEN DECIDE TO PLAY THEIR LAST CARD, AND "INTERNAL SOLUTION" WITH SMITH. IN SUCH A SOLUTION, SMITH MIGHT STEP ASIDE IN FAVOR OF QUICK ELECTION (WHICH EITHER MUZOREWA OR SITHOLE WOULD WIN) BASED ON SIGNIFICANTLY BROADENED, IF NOT ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE FRANCHISE. IN RETURN SITHOLE AND/OR MUZOREWA MIGHT BE WILLING TO GIVE SMITH SOME GUARANTEES CONCERNING ECONOMIC ROLE AND CIVIL LIBERTIES OF WHITES AND, POSSIBLY MORE IMPORTANT, ACCEPT IMPORTANT ELEMENTS OF EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMY INTO NEW ZIMBABWE FORCE.

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8. SITHOLE AND/OR MUZOREWA, AS WELL AS SMITH, WOULD COUNT ON RIDING OUT INITIAL STORM OF PROTEST FROM OTHER NATIONALIST GROUPS EXPECTING THAT TIME WOULD BE ON THEIR SIDE. THEY MIGHT HOPE THAT WAR-WEARY FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS AND US/UK NEGOTIATORS WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE AGAINST LONG-AWAITED BLACK MAJORITY REGIME IN ZIMBABWE. REACTION OF FRONTLINE STATES WOULD, OF COURSE, BE CRUCIAL SINCE, WITHOUT THEIR POLITICAL AND MILITARY SUPPORT, NKOMO AND MUGABE MOVEMENTS WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO SUSTAIN FOR MORE THAN A FEW MONTHS. GIVEN NYERERE'S CURRENT EMPHASIS ON COMPOSITION OF FUTURE ZIMBABWE SECURITY FORCES, SUCCESS OF "INTERNAL SOLUTION" MIGHT WELL DEPEND ON FINDING A WAY TO REASSURE SMITH BY KEEPING ELEMENTS OF EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMY WHILE GIVING ZIMBABWE ARMY ENOUGH OF "NEW LOOK" TO SATISFY FRONTLINE PRESIDENTS. NEITHER SITHOLE NOR MUZOREWA HAS YET DEMONSTRATED THE POLITICAL SKILL AND POPULAR SUPPORT NECESSARY TO MAKE THIS SCENARIO WORK. HOWEVER, WE HAVE HAD INDICATIONS FROM INFLUENTIAL OFFICIALS THAT SUCH A SOLUTION WOULD BE WELCOMED BY GOB IF IT BROUGHT BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE AND A QUICK END TO THE WAR ON BOTSWANA'S NORTHEASTERN BORDER.  
NORLAND

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## Message Attributes

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